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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to broaden the scope of the components of the "New Left" Scale, first developed by Christie et al. at Columbia College (1969), by including students from a U.S. university not known for its activism and responses given by a sample of Japanese college students. In short, U. S. and Japanese students both agreed most that participatory democracy should be the basis of a new society and disagreed most that educational institutions should espouse political doctrines. Also, Japanese students combine trust in "most people" with distrust of government and political opposition, reflecting perhaps the greater political activism of the group; whereas, U. S. students agreed more with statements which indicated a liberal or even non-political trust. Finally, Japanese students agreed that extensive reforms perpetuate social evils and that militant confrontation is required, whereas the U. S. sample put great faith in legal social authority as a vehicle for change. In both countries, different factors are apparent suggesting that New Left ideology may be nation specific, i.e. take on different forms depending on national tradition. (Author/TA)

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NEW LEFT IDEOLOGY

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY[1]

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The New Left has become a term used with increased frequency by the news media and by people alike. Somehow the term has become identified with protest against university structure, anti-war marches and changed sexual norms. Few serious studies have, however, been carried in order to understand the components of new left ideology - if these can be identified. It would, however, appear that even if the term is nebulous that there is a pattern to the arguments which have evolved over the last decade of struggle for peace and freedom. There is a partial disassociation with the radical past and a contempt of what is considered an anti-humanist establishment. The lines are blurred and the arguments do not follow a set, rigid pattern, suggesting that the ideology is still in the process of emerging. The lack of stability can be seen both in the total rejection of marxism by some groups whereas others are moving more and more toward incorporating marxist ideas. Whether the "New Left" possesses a coherent body of ideas may be questionable but an issue which is researchable (Christie, Friedman and Ron, 1969, p.2). Christie et. al. developed a new left scale using freshman students at Columbia College. They noted that, "The results indicate that there is a highly consistent ideological frame of reference among members of the New Left in this sample...

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[1]Paper presented at the Annual Rocky Mountain Psychological Convention, Denver, May, 1971.

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it remains to be seen whether the high degree of polarization found would also exist at other universities (pp. 5-6)." The validation of the scale was found in the significant relationship between responses on the scale and active participation in the Civil Rights and peace movements.

The purpose of this study was to broaden the scope of the study by including students from a university not particularly known for its activism and responses from a sample of Japanese college students. One desire was to do an item analysis on both samples in order to assess the adequacy of the items selected from Columbia students. Secondly, a comparison between U.S. and Japanese students was found desirable to observe both differences and similarities in New Left ideology between students in the two countries.

Method

The Sample. 136 undergraduate students haphazardly selected from Oregon State University student body during Winter, 1970, and 117 undergraduate students from Sophia University and Perfect Liberty School of Foreign Language, Tokyo, enrolled approximately the same time, participated in the study. No attempt was made to include or exclude sex as a variable.

New Left Ideology Scale. The 78 items from Christie et. al. New Left scale were administered (see appendix 1). Each item had seven response categories from agree strongly to disagree strongly.

Results and Discussion

Item differences between U.S. and Japanese students on several subscales derived from factor analysis in Christie et. al.study. The means, standard deviations and t's for the two countries on Christie's

et. al. "New Left Philosophy subscale are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
t Values, Means and Standard Deviations for
Christie et. al. Factor 1, New Left Philosophy
Between United States and Japanese College Students

	United States		Japan		
Item	X	S.D.	X	S.D.	t
29	4.83	1.52	5.68	1.57	-4.38
21	4.47	1.63	4.30	1.82	0.77
78	3.32	1.99	3.95	1.97	-2.51
47	3.35	1.61	3.09	1.73	1.35
41	3.77	1.64	5.01	1.91	-5.61
15	3.82	1.80	4.10	1.98	-1.19
44	3.61	1.57	4.44	1.92	-3.78
73	2.87	1.76	4.01	1.99	-4.90
6	3.60	2.02	3.58	1.96	0.06
11	3.61	1.81	5.02	1.91	-6.04
32	3.11	1.82	3.20	1.85	-0.39
42	4.35	1.75	4.62	1.93	-1.17
*48	4.82	1.61	3.47	1.68	6.54
*52	3.11	1.72	2.59	1.78	2.35
63	3.19	1.98	3.20	2.03	0.00
55	4.16	1.57	4.07	1.84	0.46
64	4.45	1.77	5.02	1.75	-2.53

Nine t values are significant and seven of these show Japan with the highest mean values. The U.S. students agree more with "groups with formal structure tend to stifle creativity" and "educational institutions should espouse political doctrines". The items which the Japanese students agreed more with dealt basically with two things: one that the individual has a social responsibility that encompasses his whole life and secondly a critique against the current structure which prevents man from reachinghis potential of freedom and responsibility. Not surprising, but interesting, the Japanese students also agreed more that "traditions serve useful functions".

The item most agreed with in the U.S. sample was "real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society" (#29) followed by "groups with a formal structure tend to stifle creativity" (#48) and the most disagreed with statements were "you learn more from ten

minutes in a political protest than from ten hours of research in a library" (#32) and "educational institutions should espouse political doctrines" (#52). The Japanese students also agreed most with #29 followed by "traditions serve a useful, social function by providing stability and continuity" (#64). The most disagreed statements for the Japanese sample included also #52 followed by "if the structure of our society becomes non-repressive, people will be happy" (#47). In short, U.S. and Japanese students both agree most that participatory democracy should be the basis of a new society and disagreed most that educational institutions should espouse political doctrines.

The means, standard deviations and t values for the Machiavellian Tactics subscale are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Factor 2, Machiavellian Tactics

	United States		Japan		
Item	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	t
39	3.55	1.92	2.87	1.70	2.96
58	3.16	1.72	2.17	1.61	4.71
33	1.98	1.55	2.61	2.03	-2.81
50	3.34	1.99	4.49	2.04	-4.55
28	2.98	1.73	3.50	2.13	-2.18
77	3.78	1.88	4.41	1.77	-2.72
3	3.50	1.86	5.14	1.88	-6.99
43	5.17	1.52	3.97	2.17	5.18
49	5.26	1.62	3.07	1.87	10.05
23	4.96	1.92	4.97	1.69	-0.01
12	5.64	1.66	5.02	1.81	2.87
68	4.13	1.88	3.92	2.12	0.83
66	3.28	1.81	4.19	2.05	1.35
36	3.24	1.75	2.41	1.78	3.77
2	4.71	1.96	5.79	1.57	-4.76

Twelve of the fifteen items showed significant difference between the two countries. The direction of the differences showed that six of the means were highest for the U.S. sample and six were highest for the Japanese sample. Although the pattern of differences between the two samples are not clear cut, it would appear that the statements which

the Japanese students agreed most with reflect a "practical" Machiavellianism ("clear cut pattern of leadership...", "voting pragmatic...", etc.) whereas the Machiavellianism in the U.S. sample is mainly of a "rugged - get ahead - individualism" type (...men won't work hard..., try hard..., tell people what they want to hear..., wise to flatter...). If these items do in fact reflect Machiavellianism it would seem that different socialization processes produce different national "types" of Machiavellianism.

The two most agreed with items for the U.S. sample were numbers 12 and 49 and the most disagreed with items were numbers 33 and 28. The U.S. students agreed "it is better to be humble and honest..." and "best to give real reasons..." and disagreed most with "next to health, money is the most important..." and "most of our social problems could be solved ...get rid of the immoral crooked and feebleminded people". On the other hand, the Japanese students agreed most with "without a clear cut pattern of leadership..." (#2) and "voting must be pragmatic..." (#3); and disagreed most with "men won't work hard unless they are forced to..." (#58) and "it is wise to flatter important people" (#36).

The results for "Trust in Others", Christie et. al's. third factor, are shown in Table 3.

Ten of the *t* values are significant and the direction of the differences is evenly split between the two samples with each country having highest mean values on five of the items. The results show that Japanese students combine trust in "most people" with distrust of government and political opposition, reflecting perhaps the greater political activism of the group. The U.S. students agree more with statements which indicate a liberal or even non-political trust

TABLE 3
Factor 3, Trust in Others

	United States		Japan		
Item	X	S.D.	X	S.D.	t
18	4.68	1.77	5.91	1.58	-5.84
1	3.63	1.89	4.66	1.93	-4.32
65	3.94	1.81	2.50	1.56	6.78
72	3.61	1.56	2.79	1.77	3.97
9	3.76	1.83	5.44	1.87	-7.21
56	3.25	1.82	3.40	2.03	-0.62
69	4.91	1.46	4.99	1.99	-0.39
62	4.88	1.88	4.85	1.89	0.12
57	4.25	1.81	3.69	1.90	2.44
37	4.36	1.70	2.70	1.66	7.89
4	3.86	1.85	4.02	1.40	-0.74
7	1.86	1.24	3.86	1.91	-10.10
46	3.20	1.56	3.60	1.90	-1.82
74	3.74	1.67	2.71	1.70	4.84

("representative democracy can respond effectively...", "true identity only by detaching oneself from formal ideologies").

The U.S. students favored most "most people are basically good and kind" (#69) and disagreed most with "freedom of expression should be denied..." (#7) and "political factions can't cooperate..." (#46). The highest agreement in the Japanese sample was found for #18 followed by "Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled..." (#9). The highest disagreement was found for "Most people go out of their way to help people" (#65) and "representative democracy can respond effectively..." (#37).

In Table 4 results for the revolutionary tactics factor is shown. Ten of the sixteen items show significant t values between the two countries. Six of these t values show Japan with the highest mean values. The differences between the two samples in tactics is apparent. While the Japanese students agreed more that legitimate channels of reform must be exhausted, they also agreed that extensive reforms perpetuate social evils and that militant confrontation and action is required

TABLE 4
Factors 4, Revolutionary Tactics

	United States		Japan		
Item	X	S.D.	X	S.D.	t
71	5.45	1.57	5.89	1.60	-2.23
53	5.06	1.43	5.11	1.96	-0.25
51	5.67	1.49	4.14	1.90	7.23
19	5.63	1.72	5.74	1.57	-0.53
70	4.14	1.81	4.26	1.76	-0.50
14	2.26	1.43	2.01	1.49	1.37
38	2.94	1.34	3.42	1.62	-2.61
76	4.37	1.82	3.83	1.46	2.61
22	5.00	2.00	4.50	1.88	2.03
27	2.80	1.44	3.94	1.54	-6.18
24	5.41	1.65	5.30	1.77	0.55
17	2.29	1.53	3.01	1.98	-3.25
60	2.37	1.75	2.51	1.66	-0.65
20	3.10	1.62	4.12	1.54	-5.09
8	2.22	1.74	2.79	2.07	-2.36
45	5.22	1.62	3.85	1.99	6.11

("authorities put in an intolerable position..." "...mass revolutionary party..." "...streets more...appropriate...than printing presses..." "...combat violence is to use violent means"). On the other hand, this U.S. sample was more agreeable to "compromise...for reform" and put great faith in legal social authority as a vehicle for change.

The most favored statement for the U.S. sample was "compromise is essential for progress" (#51) followed by "although our society has to be changed, violence is not a justified means" ("19). They disagreed most with "disruption is preferable to dialogue for changing our society" (#14) and "the only way to combat violence is to use violent means" (#8). The Japanese students agreed most with "there are legitimate channels for reform..." (#71) followed by the aforementioned (#19). They also disagreed most with #14 and "the processes of rebuilding society are of less immediate importance than the processes of destroying it" (#60).

Table 5 deals with items of "Traditional Moralism".

TABLE 5
Factor 5, Traditional Moralism

	United States		Japan		
Item	X	S.D.	X	S.D.	t
5	3.46	1.98	3.62	2.18	-0.59
*61	5.15	2.07	4.14	2.01	3.92
10	3.12	1.67	3.74	2.03	-2.65
35	2.77	1.59	1.97	1.49	4.15
54	2.76	1.92	2.34	1.65	1.78
34	5.48	1.36	4.71	2.13	3.51
75	4.68	1.81	5.10	1.57	-1.96
30	4.65	1.87	5.14	1.80	-2.09
40	3.15	1.73	4.04	2.04	-3.79
16	4.81	1.81	4.85	1.85	-0.14
31	3.50	1.69	3.74	2.13	-1.00
13	4.24	1.94	5.86	1.96	-6.61
26	5.50	1.87	5.74	1.73	-1.05
59	4.41	1.52	4.64	1.75	-1.09
25	5.77	1.47	4.94	2.05	3.76
67	2.22	1.64	2.91	1.98	-3.06

Eleven of the sixteen items show significant differences between the two samples with the Japanese having highest mean values on six. The differences again show peculiar socio-cultural differences. The Japanese students show a split between their rebellion against the old order (older people...accept society as it is, not as it should be..., "if it weren't for the rebellious youth...less progress...", "institutions must be destroyed if not effective now") with respect for tradition ("existence of longstanding social norms demonstrates...value"). Also the norms of the new industrial Japan is evident ("work hard...reap all benefits..." "commitment to meaningful career...important"). Not surprisingly, the U.S. sample agreed more that "The right to private property is sacred", "people who get ahead live clean moral lives" and "...every person should have complete faith in a supernatural power...".

The U.S. group agreed most that "Commitment to a meaningful career is a very important part of a man's life" (#25) and "Sexual behavior should be bound by mutual feelings; not by formal or legal ties" (#26).

The students disagreed most with "Marriage unfairly restricts one's personal freedom" (#67) followed by "Every person should have complete faith in a supernatural power..." (#54). The Japanese students on the other hand agreed most that "...institutions...must be destroyed if they are not effective now" (#13) and #26. They disagreed most with "Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives" (#35) and #54.

Summary of Japan and U.S. Factor Scale Differences

The Japanese students agreed more with items reflecting all out social responsibility, criticizing current social structure, practical Machiavellianism, distrust of government and political opposition, militant action and confrontation, respect and critique of tradition and hard work. The U.S. students agreed more with items indicating opposition to formal structure, rugged - get ahead - individualistic Machiavellianism, liberal or non-political trust, faith in legal authorities and faith in middle class morality.

It is interesting to note that 12 means out of 40 possible were agreed or disagreed most with in both the U.S. and Japanese samples. This suggests a considerable overlap also in New Left ideology in addition to the aforementioned differences.

The 10 Most Discriminating Items

Table 6 shows that Japan has significantly higher scores on five items and higher absolute scores on 4 other items. These five items concern the unfairness, outmodedness and alienation producing social structures and the need to confront authorities and establish revolutionary parties to combat the structure. Japanese students agree more with these items which is quite compatible with popular news reports of the greater activism of Japanese students. It suggests a greater concern of this Japanese student sample about social structural inadequacies and

TABLE 6

t Values, Means and Standard Deviations
for Christie et. al. Ten Most Discriminating Items
Between United States and Japanese College Students

	United States		Japan		
Item	X	S.D.	X	S.D.	t
73	2.87	1.76	4.02	1.99	-4.90
56	3.25	1.82	3.40	2.03	-0.62
15	3.82	1.80	4.10	1.98	-1.19
17	2.29	1.53	3.01	1.98	-3.25
27	2.80	1.44	3.95	1.54	-6.18
31	3.50	1.69	3.74	2.13	-1.00
14	2.26	1.43	2.01	1.49	1.34
13	4.24	1.94	5.86	1.96	-6.61
11	3.61	1.81	5.01	1.91	-6.03
26	5.50	1.87	5.74	1.73	-1.05

greater support of militant means to combat these inadequacies.

Since we are dealing with a 7 point scale, the U.S. mean values indicate a somewhat to slight disagreement with all the items except items 13 and 26. The strongest agreement is found for item 13 (destruction of inadequate social structure) and strongest disagreement for item 14 "disruption is preferable to dialogue for changing our society". It is interesting to note that for both the U.S. and Japanese students #14 is most rejected and #13 most accepted. In short, both U.S. and Japanese students agree that outmoded structures should be changed but not by disruption.

Item Analysis for the Two Samples

The item analysis indicates that only two items, #39 and #48, are found in both countries among the ten items with the highest part-whole correlation. In short, there is relative little value in using the New Left items developed from item analysis in the U.S. since they are not the same which contribute most to the variance in the Japanese sample. Comparing Christie's et.al. 10 most discriminating items with the U.S. sample reported in this paper two items overlap in both studies

TABLE 7
The 10 Items with Highest Part-Whole
Correlations for the Two Samples

Item	U.S.	Item	Japan	Christie et. al 10 most Discriminating Items	
43	.45	47	.49	73	.75
77	.43	33	.47	56	.67
*48	.39	45	.42	15	.66
74	.39	*48	.42	17	.65
*39	.38	46	.41	27	.62
75	.35	49	.41	31	.58
36	.35	*39	.37	14	.55
*26	.34	42	.36	*13	.55
29	.32	28	.36	11	.52
*13	.32	35	.34	*26	.51

(items 13 and 26). This may partly be attributed to differences in subjects used, but demonstrate also the difficulty in employing a scale developed from one sample on a different population. Comparing the part-whole correlations reported by Christie et. al. with both the U.S. and Japanese samples reported in this study, it may be observed that the part-whole correlations reported for the latter two samples are considerably lower. Some correlations are zero or approach zero. It would appear that a majority of these items do contribute to the total variance, but that additional testing is needed to develop a New Left scale which meets the requirements of internal consistency and can be applied internationally. (See Table 8, page 12.)

A Factor Analysis of the 78 Items

A verimax rotated analysis was carried out on the 78 New Left items separately for the two countries. The result for the U.S. sample is shown in Table 9.

The first factor concerns mainly a critique against the negative consequences of rigid structure. Bureaucracy prevents spontaneous living and produces self-alienation and lack of freedom. Only by detachment from formal ideology and contemporary society can man

TABLE 8
Part-Whole Correlations for 78 New Left Items for United States and Japanese Students

	United States						Japan					
1)	.31	27)	.14	53)	.25		1)	.20	27)	.29	53)	.34
2)	.16	28)	.29	54)	.08		2)	.18	28)	.36	54)	.15
3)	.15	29)	.32	55)	.10		3)	.22	29)	.13	55)	.43
4)	.24	30)	.27	56)	.28		4)	.04	30)	.18	56)	.19
5)	.13	31)	.30	57)	.29		5)	.21	31)	.25	57)	.19
6)	.04	32)	.16	58)	.15		6)	.16	32)	.12	58)	.22
7)	.18	33)	.21	59)	.26		7)	.22	33)	.47	59)	.26
8)	.22	34)	.18	60)	.18		8)	.17	34)	.42	60)	.25
9)	.25	35)	.23	61)	.22		9)	.22	35)	.34	61)	.27
10)	.28	36)	.35	62)	.18		10)	.14	36)	.37	62)	.10
11)	.28	37)	.14	63)	.00		11)	.18	37)	.11	63)	.12
12)	.17	38)	.25	64)	.24		12)	.11	38)	.32	64)	.18
13)	.32	39)	.38	65)	-.10		13)	.00	39)	.37	65)	.10
14)	.24	40)	.22	66)	.29		14)	.18	40)	.28	66)	.22
15)	.27	41)	.20	67)	.26		15)	.20	41)	.24	67)	.16
16)	.16	42)	.13	68)	.17		16)	.23	42)	.36	68)	.25
17)	.19	43)	.45	69)	.14		17)	-.02	43)	.24	69)	.09
18)	.20	44)	.38	70)	.31		18)	.00	44)	.30	70)	.08
19)	.19	45)	.14	71)	.24		19)	.08	45)	.42	71)	.04
20)	.22	46)	.27	72)	.16		20)	.31	46)	.41	72)	.29
21)	.26	47)	.19	73)	.30		21)	.23	47)	.49	73)	.11
22)	.08	48)	.39	74)	.39		22)	.17	48)	.42	74)	.06
23)	.29	49)	.03	75)	.35		23)	.29	49)	.41	75)	.20
24)	.08	50)	.30	76)	.25		24)	.24	50)	.32	76)	.32
25)	.02	51)	.14	77)	.43		25)	.20	51)	.25	77)	.22
26)	.34	52)	.09	78)	.18		26)	.14	52)	.18	78)	.04

find identity and fulfillment. This factor is named: Free From Structure, as the majority of the variables which load on this factor deal with a critique of contemporary structure. Factor #2 is named Trust-Change. Most of the variables which load on this factor deal with trust in people and peaceful-violent means for changing society. The third factor is very complex. The factor is positive on "new ideas" and giving "real" (honest) reasons for needs, combined with negative loadings on force. The primary element which the variables seem to have in common is "let each person do his own thing". Police should not use force, freedom should not be denied fascists, don't combat violence with violence nor get rid of "crooked" people and don't try abrupt reforms.

TABLE 9
Factor Analysis of 78 New Left Items for United States Samples

Factor:	1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
Item #		Item		Item		Item		Item		Item		Item		
4	.46	18	-.54	5	-.49	17	-.38	6	-.30	21	-.30	9	.33
11	.47	19	-.49	7	-.38	24	.33	13	-.38	41	.33	16	-.30
15	.46	51	-.47	8	-.33	25	.33	39	.31	46	-.32	46	.33
17	.49	12	-.39	10	-.32	43	.43	47	-.30	71	.37	64	-.31
26	.41	14	.39	14	-.31	45	.56	58	.30	72	.34		
30	.51	22	-.32	23	-.43	47	-.33	65	.44				
31	.49	37	-.34	28	-.50	50	.36	68	-.35				
44	.47	56	.33	33	-.49	53	.34	69	.34				
48	.49	63	.30	34	.37	63	-.46						
56	.55	64	-.40	35	-.42	65	-.39						
57	.50	67	.32	36	-.33	70	.32						
63	.40	69	-.49	38	-.31	71	.37						
73	.54	70	-.42	39	-.50								
77	.44	74	-.50	40	-.47								
		76	-.43	49	.33								
				50	-.43								
				59	-.34								
				60	-.37								

Variance Accounted For: 22.8% 17.0% 15.9% 13.1% 7.9% 7.4% 7.3%

Table 10
Factor Analysis of 78 New Left Items for Japanese Sample

Factor:	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8
Item #		Item		Item		Item		Item		Item		Item		Item	
5	-.58	33	.56	4	-.32	3	-.44	2	-.30	6	.36	11	.45	15	.36
10	-.43	34	.40	8	-.32	10	.35	9	-.34	21	-.52	13	.47	17	.33
17	.44	36	.54	14	-.50	12	.30	23	-.46	58	.33	25	.41	22	-.30
20	.35	38	.40	17	-.32	16	-.48	30	-.33	69	-.45	44	.30	53	-.50
28	-.42	42	.46	18	.40	29	-.43	34	-.31	75	-.33	47	.43	57	-.48
40	-.53	45	.40	19	.50	48	.35	55	-.31					59	-.40
43	-.44	46	.49	31	-.38	52	.32	65	.30						
45	-.47	47	.40	32	-.32	54	.41	71	-.30						
56	.58	49	.45	41	.31	55	-.30	74	.34						
65	-.43	58	.49	45	.34	62	-.34	77	-.42						
73	.62			66	-.39	70	-.33								

Variance Accounted For: 21.8% 17.6% 15.9% 9.4% 7.6% 7.0% 6.8% 6%

Consequently the factor is named after that song of yesterday "Let It Be". Factor 4 appears to be a general political conservatism factor. The factor loads negatively on "mans revolutionary party", if structure was non-repressive then people would be "happy", that there should be no punishment for violating an "immoral" law, and that most people "help". The negative loadings on "radicals of the left" are an equal threat as those on the right, commitment to a career and trying hard to get ahead, etc, are important. Factor 5 is a "mixed" Machiavellianism factor. The cynicism which is implicit in this construct is very apparent in negative loadings on not hurting "friends", tell people what they want to hear, wise to flatter important people, but there are also positive loadings on most people will help and are basically good and kind. One could of course take advantage of people and still believe such to be helpful and good. The sixth factor might best be termed a concerned liberal factor as it involves tolerance of the radical left and political opposition with political involvement and reform. The final and seventh factor is a "mixed" suspicion factor (lives are controlled by plots, political factions can't cooperate and traditions are not useful). This factor is however complicated by the negative loading on #16.

The results of the factor analysis for the Japanese sample is shown in Table 10. The first factor is named Anti-Establishment-Action. It combines anti-establishment attitudes with calls for revolutionary action and confrontation. Factor 2 is an Establishment (Capitalist) factor which combines money orientation, progress, legal authority and the status quo. The third factor is termed a Law and Order factor. It indicates negative loadings on violence variables, while having also positive loadings on status quo and legal authority variables. The

fourth factor is named Traditional-Reactionary since there are positive loadings on supernatural powers, work hard, be humble and honest with negative loadings on voting and participatory democracy. The fifth factor loads mainly on variables reflective of cynicism and Machiavellianism. As in the case of the U.S. data the factor is mixed in the sense that both positive and negative variables load negatively on the factor. The sixth factor is clearly a Cynicism factor which includes trust of "friends" with a distrust of people in general and a preference to flatter important people. The seventh factor is an anti-structure (rigidity) factor and the eighth is best termed a Revolutionary Tactics factor.

Summary

The results for the factor analysis of the New Left items for the two samples were not as clearcut as the results for the Christie et. al. study. In both countries different factors are apparent suggesting that New Left ideology may be nation specific i.e. take on different forms depending on national tradition. The factor analysis revealed however discernable trends which involve a critique of the established structure and tactics for change.

Appendix 1
78 New Left Items

1. Most people in government are not really interested in the problems of the average man.

2. A group without a clear-cut pattern of leadership cannot function effectively.

3. Voting must be a pragmatic rather than moral decision.

4. The bureaucracy of American society makes it impossible to live and work spontaneously.

5. Police should not hesitate to use force to maintain order.

6. No sane, normal, decent person could even think of hurting a close friend or relative.

7. Freedom of expression should be denied to racist and neo-fascistic movements.

8. The only way to combat violence is to use violent means.

9. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

10. If people worked hard at their jobs, they would reap the full benefits of society.

11. The structure of our society is such that self-alienation is inevitable.

12. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.

13. Even though institutions have worked well in the past, they must be destroyed if they are not effective now.

14. Disruption is preferable to dialogue for changing our society.

15. The United States (Japan) needs a complete restructuring of its basic institutions.

16. The findings of science may some day show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong.

17. A mass revolutionary party should be created.

18. Most people can still be depended on to come through in a pinch.

19. Although our society has to be changed, violence is not a justified means.

20. The streets are a more appropriate medium for change in our society than printing presses.

21. Although men are intrinsically good, they have developed institutions which force them to act in opposition to this basic nature.

22. Anyone who violates the law for reasons of conscience should be willing to accept the legal consequences.

23. Competition encourages excellence.

24. Radicals to the left are as much a threat to the rights of the individual as are radicals of the right.

25. Commitment to a meaningful career is a very important part of a man's life.

26. Sexual behavior should be bound by mutual feelings; not by formal and legal ties.

27. Authorities must be put in an intolerable position so they will be forced to respond with repression and thus show their illegitimacy.

28. Most of our social problems could be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feeble-minded people.

29. Real participatory democracy should be the basis for a new society.

30. If it weren't for the rebellious ideas of youth, there would be less progress in the world.

31. The solutions for contemporary problems lie in striking at their roots, no matter how much destruction might occur.

32. You learn more from ten minutes in a political protest than from ten hours of research in a library.

33. Next to health, money is the most important thing in life.

34. People ought to pay more attention to new ideas, even if they seem to go against the American way of life.

35. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

36. Generally speaking, men won't work hard unless they're forced to do so.

37. Representative democracy can respond effectively to the needs of the people.

38. Extensive reform in society only serves to perpetuate the evils; it will never solve problems.

39. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

40. The very existence of our long-standing social norms demonstrates their value.

41. A social scientist should not separate his political responsibilities from his professional role.

42. A commitment to action is more socially relevant than a commitment to any specific philosophy.

43. If you try hard enough, you can usually get what you want.

44. While man has great potential for good, society brings our primarily the worst in him.

45. Society needs some legally based authority in order to prevent chaos.

46. Political factions cannot cooperate with each other without sacrificing their integrity.

47. If the structure of our society becomes non-repressive, people will be happy.

48. Groups with a formal structure tend to stifle creativity among their members.

49. If you ask someone to do something for you, it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than giving reasons which carry more weight.

50. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.

51. Compromise is essential for progress.

52. Educational institutions should espouse political doctrines.

53. We must strive for the democratization of decision-making bodies within the existing government.

54. Every person should have complete faith in a supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.

55. The political structure of the Soviet Union is more like that of the United States than that of Red China.

56. You can never achieve freedom within the framework of contemporary American society.

57. An individual can find his true identity only by detaching himself from formal ideologies.

58. It is wise to flatter important people.

59. Abrupt reforms in society usually lead to such a severe backlash that they will be self-defeating.

60. The processes of rebuilding society are of less immediate importance than the processes of destroying it.

61. The right to private property is sacred.

62. It is possible to modify our institutions so that the Blacks can be incorporated on an equal basis into our contemporary society.

63. No one should be punished for violating a law which he feels is immoral.

64. Traditions serve a useful social function by providing stability and continuity.

65. Most people will go out of their way to help someone else.

66. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid enough to get caught.

67. Marriage unfairly restricts one's personal freedom.

68. It is more important that people be involved in the present rather than concerned with the past or the future.

69. Most people are basically good and kind.

70. Change in our society should be based primarily on popular elections.

71. There are legitimate channels for reform which must be exhausted before attempting disruption.

72. Being put in positions of leadership brings out the best in men.

73. "The establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives, we can never be free until we are rid of it.

74. Most men are brave.

75. A problem with most older people is that they have learned to accept society as it is, not as it should be.

76. The courts are useful vehicles for responsible change.

77. It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak and it will come out when they are given a chance.

78. People should not do research which can be used in ways which are contrary to the social good.

REFERENCE

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